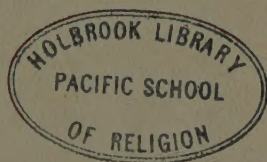


October 1953



# **SOCIAL ACTION**

**THE UNITED NATIONS AND  
THE DISCIPLINES OF PEACE**

**By A. William Loos**

**25¢**

The purpose of SOCIAL ACTION is to assist its readers in their efforts to understand, in the light of the Christian faith, issues that continually arise in social and political life, and to find effective ways of action with respect to them. It claims no authority except as it is able to appeal convincingly to the Christian conscience. Responsibility for its contents is assumed by the Editorial Board, the Editor, and the individual writers.

# SOCIAL ACTION

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## Prefatory Note

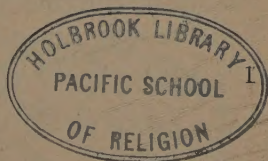
We begin our publication year with a discussion of the responsibilities of American Christians in relation to foreign policy and in particular to the United Nations. The author of the article is Dr. A. William Loos, Education Secretary of the Church Peace Union, who has devoted a number of years to the study of international relations.

Dr. Loos begins with the concepts of national interest and collective security, thus giving his analysis a thoroughly realistic base. He then proceeds to pour ethical and spiritual content into these political molds. It is with such a Christian realism that we propose to approach the problems to be dealt with during the coming months.

We shall welcome reader comment on this and the other articles that will appear in *Social Action*. While the magazine lacks space for published correspondence, we intend to give our readers brief summaries of the critical or commendatory comments received. This will widen the range of discussion, and will also give needed guidance to the Editor and the Editorial Board.

The November number will be devoted to an examination of the idea of freedom—now a very controversial subject indeed—in the context of worldwide political crisis and in a Christian perspective. In December we shall deal with a timely and perplexing problem confronting all of us: the Christian's participation in politics.

—F. E. J.





# The United Nations and the Disciplines of Peace



The United Nations truce in Korea has stirred no armistice celebration and little enthusiasm among United States citizens. Its acceptance by some has been noncommittal, as something long overdue. Others think of it as appeasement because no "victory" was won. Still others see the truce as a brief breather before the titanic struggle to win the loyalty of the vast, mysterious Asian nations breaks out again with ferocity.

The sober and restrained reaction to the Korean truce is healthy. It gives an opportunity to appraise with realism the UN action in Korea. We can look with perspective at the first attempt in history by an international organization to resist overt aggression by means of military action. That attempt, despite many mistakes and necessary trial-error maneuvers, has been successful. Collective police action under the United Nations has halted the aggression. This judgment is valid, whatever the immediate future brings to Korea or to the entire Far East.

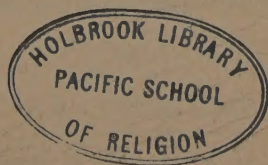
## *Attitudes Toward the UN*

Meanwhile there continues to be much misunderstanding of the UN and its international functions. Irresponsible and vicious attacks are directed against it from some quarters, and certain superpatriotic organizations seek to undermine it and to in-

fluence the United States to withdraw from its membership. Yet the supercilious slogan, "Get the US out of the UN and the UN out of the US," has apparently won no backing from the larger proportion of our citizens, however negative its effect may have been and possibly still is upon some congressmen and upon some regions of the nation. United States public opinion is preponderantly internationalist and therefore supports the world organization. This is true even though some people, expecting too much too soon from an infant world or-



UNATIONS





ganization, have been disillusioned by the seeming slowness of UN action.

The ups and downs of United States citizens in their support of the UN are understandable in view of the continuing tensions and anxieties that have prevailed during the postwar period. The uncertainties of our era, together with the staggeringly complex problems we have had to face, contribute to a mood that is at times fatalistic, at times one of helplessness. This mood, pervasive in its effect, has made it difficult for people to give solid and intelligent backing to the UN. Either they have become utopian and have wanted the UN to do the work of a world government, which it was not designed to do; or they have failed to realize the immense difficulty of getting 60 nation-states to cooperate on political, social and economic matters. That is, they either have over-sold the UN or else have under-sold it. What we need is a balanced view of the UN, an approach that recognizes both its strength and its weakness, both its failures and its achievements, both the difficulties it encounters and the considerable potentialities for a larger measure of world order that through its operation might be developed into actualities.

### *Why the Christian Should Support the UN*

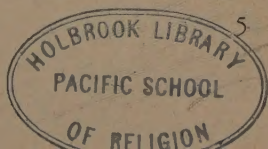
The realistic Christian finds two basic reasons for dedicated and intelligent support of the United Nations. First, like all other citizens, he participates in the national self-interest. The time is past when any nation can go it alone, when any government can have a free hand on the international scene. For a nation to endure as a free society in the mid-twentieth century world, cooperation with other nations is indispensable. It is conceivable, to be sure, though not probable, that a nation with exceptional resources might be self-sufficient for a considerable period and at the same time maintain a tolerable level of living, with security against external interference, operating with forced labor under a despotic government. But a democratic

nation like the United States has no recourse, if it wishes to remain democratic, except to develop cooperative relations with other nations. The USA, for example, is dependent upon many other nations for raw materials needed in its industrial production, for both military and civilian consumption. Similarly we are dependent upon many other countries for joint military programs and guarantees if we are to have an adequate defense system. To defend both our national security and our basic values requires that we work together with other nations. Such correlation of effort, while it can to some extent be developed on a bilateral basis or through multilateral alliances, becomes far more effective when furthered through an agency like the UN, with 60 member states joined in a firm purpose to promote the growth of a collective will.

Failure to recognize that we protect and advance our self-interest by cooperation in the United Nations is hypocritical. But the Christian has a still more basic reason for supporting the world organization. Because he believes that mankind is one and that all people are children of a common Father, he has a sense of responsibility to all humanity. This can be best fulfilled in the political sphere by active cooperation through the most inclusive international agency that is presently available.

Narrow nationalism in various forms and under different guises often raises its provincial head within the United States. Therefore the churches should heavily underscore this central conviction: the obligations of a Christian are not exhausted within his particular family, church, community or nation. They are worldwide in scope. The inescapable imperative of both the Old and New Testaments directs the Christian to have faith in and to serve one God whose moral purpose undergirds and overarches the entire world. Such faith and such service permit no parochial limits when related to one's fellowmen, inevitably bound together in a single community.

The United Nations is the best political agency now at hand through which the Christian may meet his worldwide obliga-





tions. There are, to be sure, other less inclusive political instruments, such as collective self-defense arrangements, through which a Christian citizen can at least partially fulfill his obligations to the world. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is an example. There are also certain non-political agencies such as the World Council of Churches. Yet, obviously, none of these has the potential political influence that is inherent in the United Nations.

### *The Disciplines of Peace*

The United Nations was established to help rid civilization of the war scourge. The world today manifestly needs peace with justice. Nations have hardly begun to recover from the ravages of World War II, which lowered the standard of living of the greater part of the world. The USA was a conspicuous exception. Probably most thoughtful people in the world would agree that the establishment of international peace is, as someone has said, "the most beckoning of our hopes." But there is wide disagreement about methods of achieving this end. The only way, however, in which we can begin to develop the conditions under which enduring peace can be attained is through accepting the exacting *disciplines* of peace. The word "disciplines" is advisedly chosen because there are still many individuals and groups who appear to believe that there is some easy, quick way to jump to international peace with justice. As if there were some utopian escalator to carry us to that goal. As if there were some conceivable way to avoid the hard, tortuous, pitfalled path to a larger measure of world order.

The United Nations embodies today the faith and the hope of large numbers of realistic minds in many lands. They see it as the best available, though admittedly an imperfect, instrument through which the cause of world peace may be advanced. Progress toward this major objective in our age of anxiety requires us to accept and not to run away from the rigorous disciplines of peace.



Five disciplines are especially relevant to the current national and international situation: (1) the discipline of collective security, (2) the discipline of shared responsibility on the economic and social fronts, (3) the discipline of striving for unity without imposing conformity, (4) the discipline of a sustained international perspective with regard to domestic issues, and (5) the discipline of the Christian faith.

## I. The Discipline of Collective Security

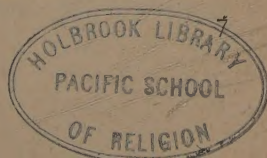
A realistic view of the current international situation points sharply to collective security as the first discipline we must accept.

### *The National Interest*

A consideration of collective security should always begin with the specific interest of our own country. The primary concern of any nation that seeks to survive in a power-dominated world must be focussed on the national interest. Human nature is in large measure governed by self-love, and we cannot expect to eradicate the power drive from individuals or nations. Therefore the security of the nation and its core values is and must remain basic. Any responsible government must recognize this priority.

It may have been possible in the past to defend with some cogency the national interest in narrow nationalistic terms. That approach is now not only completely outdated, but is essentially naive in view of the type of power struggle presently taking place between totalitarianism and the free world—a struggle immensely complicated by a vast revolutionary surge among underdeveloped peoples.

Few of the world's people can any longer escape the implications of the truism that at the century's midpoint we find ourselves living in a world that science has compressed into a kind of unity. Science has devised communications that demolish barriers and make neighbors of all people, in the sense of having inescapable contacts. Current events have demonstrated what



the Christian faith asserts: that, in a continuously shrinking world, all people—whether considered individually as persons or collectively as nations—are literally interdependent. In respect to welfare, as well as to survival, in an atomic age they are intricately and intimately interrelated. No individual and no nation can be sufficient unto itself. Narrow nationalism must therefore give way to a realistic internationalism if a nation is to survive on any other than a frankly imperialistic basis.

The only viable approach to the terrifyingly complex problems of the mid-twentieth century world is therefore by way of *collective* action. National security can be best achieved through *collective* security, and probably can be achieved on a permanent basis in no other way.

Collective action is demanded by self-interest. For the Christian it is further demanded by the basic imperatives springing out of his faith in the unity of mankind as well as his knowledge of universal interdependence.

### *A Definition*

What is collective security? It is in essence a state of international affairs in which a group of nations through a world organization or by means of collective self-defense arrangements seeks to settle any dispute that may arise without recourse to war. The methods commonly employed are negotiation, arbitration, mediation, conciliation, and judicial settlement. Sanctions are imposed upon the disputant who refuses to use these procedures. Such sanctions range from the severance of diplomatic ties and the imposition of economic restrictions to the use of armed force. In terms of this basic definition, a collective security measure is conceived as primarily a holding action against aggression.

This restricted definition of collective security is sound so far as it goes. Yet in addition to limiting or stopping outbreaks of violence between nations which might with incredible speed snowball into universal war, collective security also means work-



ing to establish those world conditions—social, political, economic—in which war becomes less probable and in which world order can increase. The frame of reference for collective security should also, therefore, define its ultimate goal, that is, the strengthening of the world community. But the immediate focus should be on intermediate steps, even though this may involve placing a greater emphasis upon a holding action. The United Nations firm stand against aggression in Korea is an example of such a holding operation. In addition to halting aggression, however, the United Nations has a vast task before it: to rehabilitate Korea, to effect, if possible, its unification, and to develop a workable settlement of long-range problems in the entire Far East, with which the local Korean problems are clearly intertwined. Various agencies may, of course, be utilized in this task. To stop the aggression of the North Koreans was a prerequisite to fulfilling the larger aims of collective security.

Collective security measures in the United Nations to date have taken three forms: (1) the peaceful settlement of disputes; (2) enforcement measures, as in Korea; and (3) negotiation on the regulation of armaments.

### *The Pacific Settlement of Disputes*

The United Nations during the eight years of its existence has done important work in the area of pacific settlement of disputes. In 1946 a Security Council discussion of an Iranian complaint against the USSR resulted in Soviet troops being moved out of Iran. Beginning in 1946 and continuing for several years, the UN, through the work of its Balkan Commission, helped to frustrate communist aggression in Greece. The UN stopped a shooting war in Palestine; and through the skillful work of a UN mediator, a provisional settlement of the dispute between Israel and the Arab states was reached. In Indonesia the UN successfully attained a cease-fire when violence broke out between the native peoples and the Dutch, and through lengthy negotiations (in which the UN Commission for Indonesia

helped to reconcile differences and in several instances acted as final arbiter) a new independent nation of 70 million people came to birth. Similarly in the dispute between India and Pakistan over the status of Kashmir, the disputants responded to a cease-fire order of the Security Council, and negotiations are still in process toward reaching a just settlement. Through the work of the General Assembly, the issue of the disposal of the Italian Colonies was settled in a manner considered reasonably satisfactory by most member states.

This record of action within so short a period makes absurd the dismal judgment pronounced in some quarters that "the United Nations has failed."

### *UN Action in Korea*

The most significant UN collective security measure to date has, of course, been the military action taken against the North Korean invasion of South Korea. The immediate background of this aggression goes back to 1945, after Japan was defeated, when Russian troops occupied the northern part of Korea and USA troops the southern part, the dividing line being the 38th parallel. This arrangement had been made only to facilitate the surrender of Japanese troops, and it was not envisaged as being in any sense permanent. A UN Commission for the unification of Korea, appointed by the General Assembly, was, however, repeatedly denied access to the northern part of the country. Both the USA and the USSR occupation forces had been withdrawn by July, 1949, and the Republic of South Korea elected a government with the Commission's approval which was recognized by 31 countries.

Without stopping for a detailed resume of the Korean military action, we must not fail to recognize one aspect. In Korea, armed force authorized by a world organization has, for the first time in history, been carrying on military action to halt aggression and restore order.

Several factors in the Korean collective action should be



stressed. In June, 1950, 53 of the then 59 members of the UN formally supported the Security Council recommendations to resist the North Korean aggression; 41 members sent materials and supplies to Korea and 16 members provided armed forces. The military assistance to South Korea was given by the UN acting as a collective body, not by individual member nations, even though the United States provided more troops and military material than any other country (South Korea excepted with respect to armed forces). Two points should be borne in mind by those who complain that only 16 out of 60 UN member states supplied military personnel and that all these contributions were very small except what the USA gave. (a) Considering that this support of a collective security action was the first of its kind to occur under the aegis of a world organization, the significant fact is not that "only 16" member states sent troops, but that as many as 16 did so—more than one-fourth of the total membership. (b) When passing judgment on the size of the military contingents sent to Korea, full account must be taken of the resources of the participating countries. It must also be remembered that both Britain and France, in addition to meeting Western European NATO commitments, had in 1950 and still have large numbers of troops stationed respectively in Malaya and Indochina, helping these to hold intact the defense perimeter of the West.

An important development within the United Nations, a direct outcome of the Korean action, was the adoption by the General Assembly, on November 3, 1950, of the Uniting for Peace Resolution. The vote was 52 for, and 5 against, with 2 abstentions. The adoption of this resolution took into account the fact that the Security Council could act decisively against North Korean aggression only because the delegate from the USSR was absent from the Council deliberations and therefore could not use his veto power. Its aim was to increase the powers of the Assembly, where the veto could not be used.

The Uniting for Peace Resolution provides that:

(1) The Assembly may meet in emergency special session on 24-hour notice if requested by the Security Council on vote of any seven members or by a majority of the members of the UN, to consider a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression on which the Security Council has failed to take action and to make recommendations for collective measures;

(2) The Assembly shall establish a Peace Observation Committee, which "could observe and report on the situation in any area where there exists international tension the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security";

(3) The Assembly recommend that each member state maintain within its national armed forces elements so trained, organized and equipped that they could promptly be made available, in accordance with each member's constitutional processes, for service as a United Nations unit or units;

(4) The Assembly establish a Collective Measures Committee of 14 members to study and make recommendations on measures that might be used to maintain and strengthen international peace and security;

(5) The Assembly urge member states to increase joint action in cooperation with the UN to "develop and stimulate universal respect for the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and to intensify individual and collective efforts to achieve conditions of economic stability, particularly through the development of underdeveloped countries and areas."

The provisions of the Uniting for Peace Resolution, if more fully implemented than they as yet have been, could materially strengthen the collective security apparatus of the UN. Although a Peace Observation Committee was appointed for a two-year period, and the Seventh Assembly reappointed the Committee for another two-year term, it has not yet been constructively used for peace and security action. A Collective Measures Commission has done a great deal of research and has made extended reports to the General Assembly as to ways to increase the effectiveness of collective security action. The work of this important commission has really only begun, however,



and it needs to be given increased attention and support and more responsibilities by all member states. No action has yet been taken by member states with respect to maintaining within their national armed forces units that could be made promptly available to the UN for use in carrying out enforcement measures.

### *Regulation of Armaments*

Many people would hold that the UN's work on the regulation of armaments has been frustrating and largely futile, and that certainly little if any progress has been made. In evaluating the vast amount of effort which the Assembly, the Security Council, and the several technical commissions have expended, however, the following factors and questions should be kept in the forefront:

1. The UN's thorough consideration of the regulation of armaments has established the principle that disarmament cannot profitably be discussed by itself but must be dealt with in relation to national and collective security. That is, disarmament should always be considered as part of the complex of questions tied up with collective security. Agreements compromising in any respect the basic aim of disarmament negotiations—i.e., "international agreements under effective safeguards which will protect law-abiding states from the hazards of violations and evasions"—will serve only to heighten tensions and increase the fear of war. It has also been learned that, in all discussions about regulation of armaments, it is especially important for all parties to refrain from "freezing" their positions and from taking inflexible stands.

2. A second principle is that a workable and carefully safeguarded plan for the regulation of armaments cannot be set in motion as long as the concept of absolute national sovereignty is maintained. This principle developed out of the discussion in the Atomic Energy Commission and the Disarmament Com-

mission, where the Western Powers agreed to restrict their sovereignty (while the USSR refused) by establishing a control organ with the power of inspection on a continuing basis.

3. A procedural question concerns the wisdom of the Disarmament Commission conducting its business in public. The most progress toward the regulation of armaments was made when the subcommittee comprising France, Britain, the USA, and the USSR met in private under the chairmanship of the President of the Sixth General Assembly.

4. It is important to note that in the UN Charter the word "regulation"—not "reduction" or "limitation"—of armaments is used, suggesting that consideration should be given not only to an upper limit of armaments but to a lower limit also beneath which national military strength, particularly that of the major powers, should not be permitted to fall lest international peace and security be jeopardized.

5. Some agreements on the regulation of armaments have been reached. For instance, the Soviet Union has conceded that "the international control organ [for atomic weapons] should have the right to conduct inspection on a continuing basis," but has added the qualification that it shall not have "the right to interfere in the domestic affairs of States." Whether the qualification entirely nullifies the concession has not yet been definitely determined.

Since the aggression in Korea, an armaments race has been gaining momentum. The question presently confronting the Western powers concerns the capacity of any nation to maintain the arms race and at the same time sustain at least a minimum of economic balance and social welfare. For this reason, and even more urgently because an arms race has historically hastened the outbreak of general war, UN member states would be wise greatly to intensify their efforts to reach workable agreements in the Disarmament Commission. Advances in this Commission are doubtless dependent upon the settlement of some of the outstanding East-West differences; but negotiations to



regulate armaments need to be carried on all the time, lest any opportunity to reach further agreements, however small, should be missed.

### *Regional Arrangements*

At the San Francisco Conference in 1945 where the UN Charter was drafted, the sovereign nations recognized the validity of regional arrangements as a necessary part of collective security in the present world situation. In view of the polarization of power within the USA and the USSR and taking into account the heightened menace of Soviet imperialism, non-Soviet nations developed regional security arrangements directed primarily against potential aggression by the USSR. Regional arrangements in which the United States is a partner are five in number: The Organization of American States (OAS), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the USA-Philippine Pact, the USA-Japanese Pact, the USA-Australian-New Zealand Pact. In a recent report\* the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace reaches the conclusion that the arguments for and against regional pacts cancel each other out. The Commission discusses the pro and con arguments on six points: security, pacific settlement, representation, cooperation, balance of power, expediency. It then decides that "no argument [for or against regional arrangements] appears to be universally valid and consequently questions should be related to the conditions under which a particular regional arrangement or system of regional arrangements is possible and desirable." (Page 32.)

From this perspective we may conclude that regional arrangements have been and are necessary to defend the national interest of the USA. Nonetheless, critical questions must be raised, especially with respect to NATO. Some of these questions are:

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\**Regional Arrangements for Security and the United Nations*. New York: June 1953. This report, which includes ten papers presented to the Commission, is comprehensive and stimulating. (Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N.Y. 144 pp. \$1.00)

(1) Does not the emphasis upon regional arrangements fall so excessively on the military aspect of collective self-defense that the basic economic stability of member nations is being threatened? While the decisive need for economic stability is usually recognized, adequate measures to insure such stability too often are neglected.

(2) Can regional security arrangements be integrated more closely into the United Nations system of collective security without weakening them? There is divided opinion about this question. One point, however, seems clear: that disagreements among signatories of a pact might be somewhat lessened if the regional arrangements were more intimately integrated into the total UN system. Such integration, moreover, would help to avert a dual danger: that the regional agency might actually undercut the UN and weaken its nascent collective security system and that regional arrangements might intensify the concentration of power in two opposing camps, a process manifestly adverse to international peace.

(3) What shall be the relation between regional arrangements and the Assembly's Uniting for Peace Resolution? It has, for instance, been suggested that NATO military forces, already under a unified command, might be placed at the disposal of the General Assembly, to be used against any outbreak of aggression. In the existing circumstances this suggestion has not received serious consideration.

### *Collective Security Through the United Nations*

The national interest, defined as preservation of a nation's core values, can best be fulfilled through collective security. This means action authorized by the largest possible number of states that can be brought together with some semblance of a collective will, as under the United Nations. In view of the basic power conflict within the UN itself, it has become necessary for the United States to establish bilateral and multilateral alliances (OAS, NATO, and the Pacific Pacts) in order to

provide immediate defense for the national security against potential aggression by a totalitarian power. But collective security as a method of "shared responsibility" can be fully effective only as regional arrangements are brought more completely under the authority of the world organization's collective will, where all nations, including the major powers, submit to the judgment of the group.

It must further be recognized that a strengthening of the collective security of the in-group, i.e., the free world, eventuates in a situation where there is less chance of "loosening up" the totalitarian system of the out-group. Merely strengthening the free world's collective security system is not contributing to the settlement of basic East-West conflicts, except in so far as a position of strength offers new opportunities for constructive negotiation leading to an alleviation of those conflicts. This consideration again suggests the advisability of working for collective security more fully through the United Nations, where at least the Soviet bloc of nations is a part of the in-group, however often they may be out-voted.

The UN offers the beginning of a method not based on sheer egoism for fulfilling the national interest. It helps to constrain such egoism through focussing attention on the interests of the world community. Through deliberations in the UN organs, it has become clear that the most perplexing problems of our era are common to many nations and are therefore international in character and scope. Common problems cannot be solved on a long-term basis, therefore, except as the solutions are worked out through cooperation. And there is no democratic way to cope with such problems except through multilateral negotiations carried on in and by means of a world organization.

In so far as such a regional agency as NATO is directed merely toward a defensive, holding action, it tends to become an extension of the individual member nations' egoistic struggle for power. Only when the main emphasis can be transferred to the development of a deeper sense of community among



nations, as through the European unity movement, can it be regarded as pointing toward a larger measure of long-term collective security. The over-emphasis upon the military aspects of NATO, however necessary it may have been to meet an immediate threat of Soviet aggression in Europe, has resulted by 1953 in the springing up of tensions among the NATO partners themselves, due to widespread uncertainties about the long-range policies of the Atlas of the West, the United States. Thus even the defensive, holding aspects of NATO are endangered because not sufficient attention has been given to the development of a larger measure of real community—an essential requisite for collective security.

The United Nations has demonstrated that it can, as now organized, act effectively in behalf of collective security in some situations. Its operation in pacific settlement of disputes and its resolute stand against overt aggression in Korea are not unimpressive examples of collective security action. The UN has, moreover, to date strengthened its collective will through the Assembly's Uniting for Peace Resolution. Also, there can be little or no question that the UN has helped to restrain the potential ferocity of the East-West struggle, and that in such a situation as was presented by the Berlin Blockade it provided a medium through which the provisional settlement of a dangerous dispute could be achieved.

The UN can therefore carry on collective security action without being a world government. It may even be feasible to organize under the UN a modified form of international police force, if member states are willing to place military units at the disposal of the world organization. This could be done without any member state measurably decreasing its own national sovereignty. To establish an effective system of armament regulation, however, would require member states to make a considerably larger commitment than some are presently willing to do, as is indicated by the findings of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Disarmament Commission.

Collective security through the United Nations is in its beginning stages. Too much should not be expected of it. But to develop a more effective UN collective security system requires that the world's strongest nation, the United States, accept the discipline involved: to understand once and for all that we cannot go it alone or have a free hand on the international scene; to work even harder than we have so far done to negotiate differences with other nations on a broadly multilateral basis; to take the initiative at every opportunity to strengthen the UN and to make it in actuality what we profess in theory to consider it—the cornerstone of our foreign policy.

## II. The Discipline of Shared Responsibility on the Economic and Social Fronts

### *To Diminish Tensions Causing War*

Collective security, narrowly envisaged, means taking collective action against an aggressor nation or nations. Broadly conceived, it means in addition to immediate forcible action an effort to establish on durable foundations those world conditions—social, political, economic—in which international peace can develop. It means striking at the age-old and deeply rooted causes of tensions that often eventuate in war: poverty, disease, ignorance, oppression, hunger, fear, and chronic anxiety.

It has been pointed out that, whereas the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 dealt with the etiquette of war and the League of Nations with limitations upon war, the United Nations wrote into its Charter specific methods for achieving at least a tolerable justice throughout the world and thus for diminishing the tensions that cause war. The generalization may seem too sweeping, but it suggests an important truth. For the UN has as two of its chief organs the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the Trusteeship Council. These organs seek to attain conditions that could lead to the development of

a free world society in which nations would not need to resort to violence—to war—in order to attain at least a minimum of tolerable justice. A free world society is the ultimate goal of collective security, however immediately necessary it may be to set proximate goals for adjudicating disputes and halting aggressions that arise between nations.

### *A World in Revolution*

The work of ECOSOC and the Trusteeship Council is of decisive moment at a time when the entire world is in ferment. Especially those regions known as underdeveloped, for the most part colonial or former colonial areas, are in revolution. One of our distinguished elder statesmen, Bernard Baruch, has described the prevailing world situation in these discerning words:

“War hurries processes already in the making. Again, there is a stirring in the masses all over the world. They demand a greater voice in government and a greater share of what they produce. Great as the ferment after the first World War, it is still deeper today. Even among the masses in Africa, Asia and South America, as well as among educated and informed peoples there, here, everywhere the same spirit of unrest is abroad. Whether fomented or not, it is there. The stirring peoples are going places—the only question is where.

“This situation poses for us a far more difficult problem than we have ever faced before. How can we help the peoples of the world to move upward, in a reasonably orderly fashion, without surrendering their liberties to a way of life which may promise quick material gains but be impossible to escape from thereafter? How can we keep on the side of progress, without bolstering reaction or accelerating revolution?”

The false blandishments of world communism make their strongest appeal to hungry, sick, and oppressed people. Although most of us may know that the promises of communism can by no means be fulfilled, they are nonetheless alluring to those people who live under subhuman conditions.



## *Both Bread and Liberty*

We of the West have in some instances begun to throw off our attitude of superiority, offspring of the 19th century white man's colonialism and imperialism. Perhaps we have learned that in the 20th century we can avoid further world disintegration only as we back up the legitimate striving of people for both bread and liberty. We may even be slowly coming to understand that our only long-range hope for the victory of the ideals we cherish lies in persuading the depressed people of the world to respect and, of their own accord, to accept those ideals.

During the time of revolution in which we live, whole populations are on the move and entire social orders are falling to pieces. It has therefore become an axiom of our era that if war is to be averted we must, in addition to devising adequate safeguards against overt aggression, help needy peoples to raise their standards of living in the underdeveloped areas of the world. Poverty stricken, illiterate and sick people do not make competent working units in a free world.

This world situation is the supreme challenge of our century. What will be the American response to it? The weight of our responsibility is in direct proportion to the immensity of our power. That responsibility can in part be met by giving vigorous support to bilateral programs of economic aid and Point Four technical assistance. Beyond this, however, we should with all our might back up the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies in their social and economic programs. We need to be even more generous with our resources than we have been, to assist the peoples of the world in their endeavors to achieve political independence, improved living conditions and basic human rights. The more we can work through the United Nations, with its 60 member states, the more manifest it will become to everyone that our basic aim actually is the building of a genuinely free world.

Few of our citizens today question the need for the West to be militarily strong, so that we could, if need be, withstand ag-

gression. In our cooperation with the United Nations as it resisted aggression in Korea, we demonstrated not only the necessity but the value of such strength. Because of our enormous outlays in military budgets, it may appear that our resources for increased support of the United Nations economic, social and technical assistance programs are limited. Yet one point must be made irrefutably clear: the peoples within the vast underdeveloped areas of the earth can be won as working partners in an authentically free world, supporting the principles for which it stands, only as we now help to develop the strongest possible program of economic aid and technical assistance. Whenever we channel such a program through the United Nations, moreover, we not only escape the largely untrue charge that our motives are imperialistic, but we also help to strengthen the free world community. People in Latin America, Asia and Africa can thus be persuaded to back up, of their own free will and as independent groups, the basic faith of the free world—faith in the dignity of the human person, in his right to freedom and security (both material and spiritual), in his ability, under God, to direct his own destiny.

### *Defense Is Not Enough*

During recent years we have tended to develop a "defensive posture." This is understandable since our way of life has been threatened. The development of a vast military machine and the setting up of regional self-defense arrangements have been necessary, but in essence they are all defensive. *The Economist* (London) has stated with conviction that, in the long view, defense is not enough: "At some point in the 20th century the success of the free world will consist not in its self-preservation but in its ability to advance—which means, in democratic terms, its capacity to offer both for its own people and for the poor communities of Africa and the East rising standards, both material and moral, that dictatorship cannot provide."

The effective and at times dramatic work of ECOSOC and the

Trusteeship Council has not been defensive. Mistakes, to be sure, have been made. One of the problems that are only now being solved is the overlapping of projects for which various Specialized Agencies have been responsible. Taken as a whole, however, the economic and social work of the United Nations has brought new hope to depressed people and has utilized methods which, if developed with imagination and if given adequate financial support by member states, can give human beings the status which is theirs by right as children of God.

### *World Health*

It is impossible here fully to review the economic and social work of the United Nations, but it is important briefly to indicate its nature. In the developed countries, for example, life expectancy at birth is 63, whereas in the underdeveloped areas it is 30. This startling difference is due largely to the so-called mass diseases: yaws, malaria, tuberculosis, syphilis, etc. These mass diseases, which cause what has been called a "jungle of misery" in vast areas of the world, can now be controlled at the cost of a few cents per person. And the World Health Organization (WHO) is working constantly not only to control but to eradicate these plagues. The immediate result is to alleviate human misery. What is more, giving people health makes them productive units in society, thus enabling them to raise more food for their own consumption.

### *Food and Agriculture*

One-half and perhaps as many as two-thirds of the world's people go to bed hungry every night. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) aims to change this condition. Agricultural experts, in the face of considerable neo-Malthusian dissent, believe that the earth is rich enough in resources to feed its population, however large. They have estimated that within 10 years the world's food supply could be brought up to a level



adequate to feed everyone on earth *if* we really focussed scientific know-how on this gigantic problem. This estimate takes into full account the population increase, as well as the increased life expectancy which WHO and other UN Specialized Agencies are developing.

What is astonishing about the work of these Specialized Agencies is the comparatively simple manner in which productivity can often be increased. To cite only one of many examples, the introduction into Afghanistan by FAO experts of previously unknown hand tools—hoes, rakes and scythes—has been estimated to increase the productivity of a man from two and one-half to five times.

### *Education, Science, and Culture*

"Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be built." This well known sentence from the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) points to the special task of this agency—namely, to fight ignorance. Ignorance has played a major role in causing war; for it breeds misunderstanding, fosters hate, and generates tensions. UNESCO is helping millions of people to break the vicious circle of mental apathy, illiteracy, poverty and disease. The objective of its Fundamental Education program is to lift the *whole* standard of living in a community. It aims to teach people how to protect their health, to take advantage of all local natural resources, to dignify home life both materially and spiritually, to devise means by which to gain the right and opportunity of wholesome leisure. In this four-way process the literacy of the people is also advanced.

### *Human Rights*

The Commission on Human Rights has been responsible for drafting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This Declaration was approved on December 10, 1948, by a vote of 48

for, none against, with eight abstentions. It has become in effect an international norm, a standard which even Soviet delegates to the UN use in bolstering their arguments, even though the USSR did not vote for it. Its impact has been considerable, though it does not bind upon nations an official obligation to practice the rights and freedoms which flow from the inherent dignity of the human person. In principle the signatories to the Declaration have accepted this obligation and so are morally committed to bring basic human rights to their peoples. The Declaration has been quoted or paraphrased, moreover, in a number of national constitutions which have been formulated or revised in recent years, of which the Indonesian Constitution is an impressive example.\* The educational plans now being developed by the Commission can help substantially to advance human rights and basic freedoms on an increasing scale.

### *Technical Assistance*

One of the most appealing and effective UN programs is that of Technical Assistance. The Technical Assistance Board serves as the coordinating body for the entire UN expanded program of technical assistance, and it includes representatives of the International Labor Organization, FAO, UNESCO, WHO, and other Specialized Agencies. Technical assistance is a method of helping people help themselves in their day by day struggle against man's traditional enemies. Most countries that receive such assistance are at the same time giving it: an example of reciprocity much appreciated by smaller countries. Here is an arrangement whereby a true interchange among the nations is facilitated. At the end of 1952, 97 countries and territories were receiving assistance; 1,627 technical experts from 64 countries were working in 62 countries; and 2,127 training fellowships were awarded by 76 countries to citizens of 92 countries.

The UN's fight against poverty, disease, ignorance and hun-

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\*See *Impact of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. New York, United Nations, Department of Social Affairs. 1951. 25 cents.

ger, if given adequate financial and moral support by the member states, may well become the decisive, basic, and long-range factor in building those conditions in which enduring international peace can grow. The humanitarian tradition of our country as well as the imperatives of our religious faith require us in the United States, in view of our tremendous wealth, to assume leadership in this dynamic program. We have not, however, fully grasped the immense significance of this undertaking. When our Congress cavils at paying its full pledge to the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) and hesitates about including an appropriation for UNICEF in its 1954 budget; when it considers slashing the authorized appropriation for the UN Technical Assistance program, this country not only jeopardizes its recognized leadership in the entire free world but also betrays its democratic and religious heritage. Such attempts at spurious economy indicate, above all, that we have failed to realize the tremendous positive impact of these and other UN economic and social programs upon potential members and associates of the free world fellowship. *They* understand, even if we do not, that concerted backing of these projects will help to bring them more favorable living conditions and a larger measure of justice in a society of free men.

When Arnold Toynbee was asked what people living 300 years from now might consider the most outstanding feature of the 20th century, he said: "My own guess is that our age will be remembered chiefly neither for its horrifying crimes nor for its astonishing inventions, but for its having been the first age since the dawn of civilization, some 5000 or 6000 years back, in which people dared to think it practicable to make the benefits of civilization available for the whole human race."

To share responsibility on the economic and social fronts with other member states of the UN is a discipline requiring great generosity and perhaps increased immediate sacrifices on our part. Yet the financial outlay for this work is, after all, relatively small. What is needed most of all is a more imaginative



approach and a more determined cooperation with other nations. Must we not in this country call into being the kind of dedication to the meeting of human need, wherever it may be found, that has always been the most striking quality of the foreign mission enterprise at its best?

### III. The Discipline of Striving for Unity without Imposing Conformity

The growth of a more integrated world community depends upon the development of a deepening sense of unity and of understanding among the nations, each remaining true to its own traditions and cultural patterns. Such a sense of unity and understanding can be achieved only if and so far as representatives of the nations consult together and actually work together on joint projects.

The key motivation for this approach to foreign policy is clearly spelled out in the preamble to the United Nations Charter: "To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, . . . to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, . . . to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, . . . to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors. . . ."

#### *Negative Trends in the USA*

During these tension-filled months and years we need, especially in the United States, to lay emphasis upon the severe discipline of multilateral consultation as a prior requirement and as the only valid base upon which a free world structure can be built. This is of crucial importance in view of three tendencies in this country. The first and foremost is exaggerated preoccupation with and undue reliance upon military might alone. With this drift goes an inclination to disparage or merely to by-pass the difficult processes of negotiation.

The second tendency, resurgent in some sections of the United States, is toward a narrow nationalism or neo-isolationism by whatever name it may be known—"safeguarding the American Constitution," "national frugality," "a free hand on the international scene," or what not. To go it alone apparently is thought to be a simpler and easier procedure than to win cooperation through the trying method of discussion and give-and-take—as indeed it may be. But each day it becomes more obvious that no nation, however much power it may control, can impose its will on others without rousing such violent resentment that any conceivable benefits are almost totally lost. Admittedly tortuous and often slow, this process is nonetheless the only one by means of which disputes between nations can possibly be settled on any long-term basis.

A third trend in the United States is toward national self-righteousness, the spiritual cancer so destructive of goodwill and understanding among peoples. Since might makes right, we must therefore *be* right, seeing that we are the most powerful of nations, both economically and militarily, and so have a moral duty to impose our way of life upon others. Few people probably would state the case quite so baldly, but the subtle and invidious effects of USA self-righteousness are, at an alarming speed, undermining our influence abroad and dissipating the reservoir of goodwill that we have built up, even among our best friends.

### *Multilateral Consultation*

Key processes in the United Nations are multilateral consultation and diplomacy. Problems which superficially may appear to affect directly only two or three nations are set by the UN within an international perspective. Unless questions are strictly of a "domestic" nature, they can be brought to the General Assembly for full discussion. The UN provides machinery through which disputes that might easily develop into armed conflict may be settled through negotiation and arbitration.

This intrinsically democratic method of earnestly seeking to resolve conflicts and to bridge differences around the conference table can, if persistently used, further the growth of a genuine world community.

A highly constructive aspect of UN activity, all too often impatiently brushed aside as inconsequential, is that the world organization constantly provides a forum or world parliament to which member states can bring problems and disputes of an international character. The value of this factor should never be underestimated.

### *"Talk"*

Some people derogate the United Nations by contending that all that happens at UN meetings is "talk and more talk." We need to remind ourselves that "talk" in UN bodies—we should prefer to call it realistic negotiation—resulted during 1946 in the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Iran, brought about a reasonably satisfactory conclusion of a shooting war in Palestine, brought a cease-fire in the Indian-Pakistani dispute over Kashmir and may finally result in an amicable settlement of the problem, and was responsible for bringing into being the United States of Indonesia. Over two years of "talk" has at long last eventuated in an armistice in Korea. "Talk" in the General Assembly about the desperate postwar plight of children led to the establishment of the UN Children's Emergency Fund, and the truly magnificent work of UNICEF has brought physical and moral rebirth to millions of children and mothers throughout the world. Similarly the notable attainments of the UN in the social and economic fields, achieved in spite of the extremely tense international situation in the midst of which it has had to work, were all initiated by "talk" in various UN organs.

The UN is the principal medium through which the majority of nations can communicate with each other. Through such interchange of ideas and national points of view the UN, despite



its youth and relative weakness and many failures, has achieved certain far-reaching political, social, and economic goals.

To take a dim view of the United Nations because its primary weapons are, according to the Charter, "negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and judicial settlement," is to demonstrate a complete lack of faith in the effectiveness of essentially democratic procedures within the international arena.

The role of the middle and smaller powers within the United Nations is becoming, through "talk," ever more significant. Often they can act as mediators, helping at the very least to restrain the potential ferocity of the power struggle between the major nations. And as the concentration of power in two opposing camps continues apace, the role of these middle and smaller powers may be expected to become increasingly vital in the pacific settlement of international disputes.

### *Working Together on Common Projects*

In addition to "talk" within United Nations bodies, the nations are also actually working together through the world organization. A great international leader once said: "Nations will learn to work together only by working together." Perhaps the most influential aspect of UN work during the past eight years has been that the member states in the UN have indeed been working together to attain pacific settlement of disputes, to resist aggression in Korea, and permanently to raise the standards of living through its social and economic programs. In this process of joint effort, by democratically cooperating in common endeavors they have been actually building an international community. And in the steady development of an international community, with its collective will becoming ever stronger, lies the only realistic hope for the growth of enduring world peace.

The United States as the most powerful nation in history has a particular responsibility for helping to develop a higher degree

of cooperation among nations without seeking to impose conformity upon them. Because of its immense power this country should be especially wary lest it manifest, within the various phases of UN work, a lack of faith in authentically democratic processes. We have at times given the impression in the UN that we are arrogant and hypocritical, and insistent upon having our own way. We have been accused, perhaps unjustly, of bludgeoning other nations to vote on our side. We have, on occasion, appeared to betray our national tradition, that of a country born in revolution. There have been instances when we seemed to be indifferent to the aspirations of colonial and former colonial peoples.

### *Pluralism*

Surely one of our primary responsibilities is to activate within the United Nations our professed belief in political and cultural pluralism. It may be that fundamentally we have no desire to impose our way of life upon others, yet some of our actions suggest that we might, upon occasion, withhold material aid from a nation whose economic pattern varies to some extent from that of our own private enterprise system. Should not the United States make convincingly clear to the international community that what we really seek is unity, not uniformity? We cannot afford to estrange other countries by an intolerance of economic and political thought that does not exactly conform to our pattern.

Pluralism of views and systems is not only a possibility in the modern world, but an unqualified necessity. The United States, together with other nations, must devote itself to the discipline — often far from glamorous but always indispensable — of achieving through multilateral consultation concerted action for common ends without imposing conformity. In so far as this is attempted through the United Nations, agreements reached will normally have more weight than otherwise since a larger number of nations will be involved in making the decisions and in

carrying them out. There will, of course, continue to be necessity for much bilateral and regional negotiation. But the principle that calls for activation is explicit in our religious faith; namely, that in a world as complex and varied as that of our time, there is ample room for "diversities of gifts and differences of administration."

#### IV. The Discipline of a Sustained International Perspective with Regard to Domestic Issues

An especially perilous form of narrow nationalism in our closely-knit world is manifest in the disposition to overlook or ride roughshod over the international implications of domestic issues. This tendency in the United States has done incalculable damage to our status as a recognized leader in the United Nations and has seriously jeopardized our relations with other nations. Let us consider the international impact of a few domestic questions, selected from a large number which might here be included.

##### *Immigration Legislation*

*First*, the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act. This legislation discriminates against foreigners on nationality and racial lines, and seriously interferes with the free interchange of persons between the USA, the United Nations, and other countries. We should feel gratified that President Eisenhower has directed sharply unfavorable criticism against the operation of this Act, and is reported to have pressed for its amendment. Such action would help to rectify the damage done to our international prestige when we enacted legislation not only perpetuating but even intensifying in our immigration policies those prejudices based on race or national origin. The quota principle may have had a measure of validity, but should we not now give urgent priority to so liberalizing our immigra-



tion laws that they will neither imperil our relations with countries friendly to us nor outrage our basically democratic and humanitarian heritage?

### *The Reciprocal Trade Agreements*

*Second*, the one-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements. Only by means of the strongest pressure was it possible for the Administration to persuade Congress to renew these Agreements, which have been of such immense economic value both to the United States and to other nations. Freer interchange of goods, contrary to the economic nationalism that is becoming increasingly upsurgent in this country, is an inescapable discipline of peace. Toward this end the UN steadily works. Commitment to genuine internationalism requires us unremittingly to resist the pressure for high trade barriers, and indeed to make every effort to lower tariff rates on many more imports. To establish the conditions that will actually help more nations to attain durable economies is essential if we would encourage them to become willing and strong partners in a freer world community. It is worth noting here that freer access to an expanding USA market is an indispensable requirement for economic stability in Western Europe, without which a strong NATO cannot be attained.

### *National Frugality*

*Third*, a drive for national budgetary economies which threaten international programs. There has been a marked reluctance in Congress to appropriate adequate funds for the United Nations and its agencies, as well as for foreign economic aid and the Point Four program. In this connection we should examine a charge often levelled in local communities against the UN, namely, that it "costs us too much." The aggregate cost of the United Nations to the USA was under \$98 million in 1952, or 62 cents per citizen. Of this sum, nearly 60 percent represents voluntary contributions for relief and rehabilitation work

among Koreans and refugees in the Middle East. Actually the cost to the United States of the regular program of the UN and its agencies in 1952 was \$25½ million, or 16 cents per person. Over against that figure we need to place the estimate made by A. M. Rosenthal of *The New York Times*, that playing host to the UN brings to this country (especially to New York City) some \$37 million per year, spent by UN personnel and by the organization itself for supplies and services. When compared with the constructive work done by the UN on the one hand and, on the other, when contrasted with the \$60 billion military budget for 1952, the charge that the UN costs us too much looks quite absurd. However commendable and necessary it may be and no doubt is to reduce our national budget, it is the falsest kind of economy to trim our contributions to the UN, to UNICEF, to the UN Technical Assistance program, or to our own foreign economic aid and Point Four programs.

### *USA Sovereignty*

*Fourth*, anxiety lest membership in the UN will undercut USA sovereignty. This charge has been frequently made by certain superpatriotic organizations. This is manifestly the motivation behind the proposed Bricker Amendment to the Constitution. Senator Bricker's proposal, aiming to limit our government's power to conclude treaties and executive agreements, has stimulated much controversy. The proposed legislation, though recently rewritten, is ambiguous; and even legal experts find it difficult to ferret out its precise meaning. Opponents of the measure point out that, considered as a whole, it is hyper-nationalistic in approach and is fundamentally an attack upon a responsible internationalism, including full USA participation in the United Nations system.

Whatever action the next session of the 83rd Congress may take with respect to the Bricker Amendment, it will be necessary for this country sooner or later to review its whole stand with respect to national sovereignty and international action.

The United States, for example, assumed leadership in the Atomic Energy Commission by expressing willingness to limit its sovereignty in certain specific ways, recognizing that to have adequate international control of atomic energy would require such action by all nations. While it is undeniably imperative to protect our own Constitutional practices, we also have to consider ways in which a self-limitation upon the exercise of our sovereignty may help to make more effective those international measures that are directed against war and toward a freer world community. The phrase "limiting sovereignty" signifies only what every government does when it negotiates a treaty.

### *"Anticommunism"*

*Fifth*, the sterile form of anticommunism that has, the world over, come to be known as "McCarthyism." Already our State Department employees, stationed in this country and abroad, find it difficult to carry out their duties to the best of their abilities, without encountering this opprobrious influence as it reaches out to violate reputations without regard to judicial process. The London *Times* recently described the stultifying effect of this fear-begetting situation, which has gone a long way "to make American representatives abroad so cautious in their behavior that their usefulness is seriously weakened."

The Voice of America program has been undermined and shorn of much of its effectiveness by congressional investigations often based on unsubstantiated charges, which have discredited its personnel.

Most damaging of all is the loss of prestige that the United States has suffered both in Europe and in other parts of the world, as a result of wanton attacks on civil liberties which have increasingly been made throughout our land in the name of "anticommunism." Many of our own citizens have tried to authenticate in a legal manner and on a national scale, such of our genuine democratic institutions as due process and the right of dissent. Yet the reckless way in which the reputations



of individuals have been besmirched and their means of livelihood endangered has led Europeans to believe that we in the United States are fouling our democratic heritage. We have dismally failed, they are telling us, to practice what we so constantly preach.

Our seeming readiness to play fast and loose with our fundamental freedoms has led to a tragic consequence: what started out as if it were a valid anticommunist crusade now gives aid and comfort to the communist cause, at least on the European continent. An astute reporter, Joseph C. Harsch, in a series of eight articles on "Report on Europe, 1953," wrote these disturbing words:

"If the future generation of Europeans turns again to communism, the turn will be dated from the spring of 1953 when McCarthyism discredited anticommunism in Europe. Europe cannot be held against communism without the support of its intellectuals and its working classes. In those areas the damage has been devastating. Yet it is not too late if Washington but recognizes what must be done, if an end is put to 'smear' tactics, and if the United States can convince Europe again that it is, indeed, that citadel of freedom and democracy which Americans know it to be." (*The Christian Science Monitor*, July 23, 1953.)

If the United States expects to carry responsibly its heavy international burdens, we must exercise much more care in our handling of domestic issues. The fact is that in our time there are scarcely any domestic questions which do not have some global ramifications. We forget at our peril that we can nullify even the most constructive aspects of our foreign policy by failing to keep an international perspective with regard to all domestic matters.

## V. The Discipline of the Christian Faith

Within the tangled web of current international relations, the Christian has a special role to play. He can fulfill that role in so

far as he is willing to submit to the discipline of his faith. There are at least four unique contributions which the Christian should be prepared to make if he wishes to help rouse the United States to meet adequately the heavy responsibility laid upon it by the immense power it exercises.

### *Realism*

The first contribution is that of a Christian realism. The Bible is utterly realistic about human nature. It holds in constant tension what Pascal called the greatness and littleness of man. The New Testament is therefore never optimistic or pessimistic. Rather it recognizes potentialities in man both for good and for evil. This blunt realism is needed at a time when we tend either to despair or to become utopian with respect to foreign policy issues.

United States citizens should, with their mercurial temperament, be especially wary about falling into utopian pitfalls. Plans for UN Charter revision, for universal and complete disarmament, for a world organization without any regional pacts within it—such plans often appeal strongly to the American people. The appeal is most enticing, but it seems to arise from a spurious belief that there are certain nostrums which overnight can cure the radical ills of our era. Indubitably we should continue to work steadily for such ultimate goals as universal and complete disarmament. But such a goal can be approached only when we have painstakingly and doggedly built throughout the world society conditions in which genuine world peace can grow.

If we study the advances that have been made in international organization, particularly within the past half century, and if we believe that the actual evil in man and his society need not completely blank out his potential greatness, then we can further believe that these conditions are being very gradually developed by the world's people through political, social, economic and—regrettably—military means. It is doubtless true

that the process is moving much too slowly if our civilization is to be redeemed in time to avert disaster. But the process cannot be hastened by confusing ultimate goals with immediate steps.

It *can* be hastened as the free world under the strong and non-self-righteous leadership of the United States resolutely accepts a moral responsibility commensurate with its tremendous power. The USA must further be willing to pay the price of meeting that responsibility. The price must be paid in the coin of increased economic assistance to other nations, expanded and freer world trade even when special national interests seem temporarily to suffer, probably a continued high level of taxation, the development of genuine interchange between ourselves and other peoples so that we may become willing to learn as well as teach, and above all, consecration to a supreme, a vital task.

To instill this realistic, down-to-earth approach to foreign policy issues is essentially a moral and religious task. It is a task the Christian should resolutely face.

### *Patience Plus a Sense of Urgency*

A second aspect of the Christian's responsibility is closely related to the first. We should be patient and at the same time hold fast to a sense of urgency. Prophetic religion has always instilled in its followers this sense of urgency. It has insisted that we ought to work indefatigably and continuously for justice and peace, for mercy and reconciliation. But religiously minded persons have also taken the long view. They have done so because they believe that the processes of God overarch the wrecks of time. If we do what L. P. Jacks used to call "time thinking," we will realize that there can be no quick or easy solutions to those international problems which have their roots entangled in decades or even centuries of history. The task of our religious forces is to develop patience without lapsing into a do-nothing attitude; to develop a sense of urgency without being enticed into rashness.

## Hope

In so far as we fulfill the first two Christian requirements, we can also meet a third, namely, to help people to achieve hope. An age of anxiety like ours moves the human spirit to despair. Yet there are ample bases for realistic hope on the international scene. In Korea, for example, for the first time in the history of mankind, a new method of international relations was initiated, supported by 53 UN member and two non-member nations. If this method of collective security is successfully carried through now that a truce has been arranged, and if it is further developed with imagination, it can become a powerful factor in the establishment of a larger measure of world order. It may indeed become a decisive factor in averting general war.

Another basis for realistic hope is found in the resistant attitude of our citizens as a whole toward the attacks being made upon the United Nations system. Since our national interest can be adequately protected today only in so far as our government increases its participation with other nations in international organizations and regional agreements, many of these attacks are obviously vicious and irresponsible. It is heartening that in general there has been a healthy and democratic repudiation by our citizenry of these flagrant attacks, once they learn the facts about the vast and significant work of the United Nations. The people apparently will not allow themselves to be deceived by isolationist, "Protestant fringe," and neo-fascist groups.\* On the other hand, they carefully scrutinize and rightly weigh the legitimate criticisms levelled at the UN and do not blink its mistakes and weaknesses. Yet, although we have every reason to feel satisfaction about the generally intelligent

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\*The attacks on the UN have come primarily from three groups: (a) the religious fringe, called "the Protestant underworld" by Ralph L. Roy (see *Apostles of Discord*. Beacon Press: Boston, 1953); (b) the superpatriotic organizations (refer to *The Assault on the UN* by Alexander Uhl. Public Affairs Institute: Washington, 1953); (c) narrow nationalists or neo-isolationists. The designation for group (c) is also applicable to group (b) and sometimes to group (a).



response of the American people to the work of the UN, we should also recognize the urgent necessity of immediately developing a deeper understanding of the crucially vital international role that must be played today by the United States.

The Western world's efforts to spur economic and social development on a global scale provide a third basis for hope. It has become a truism that a viable world order can be built only as means are found to help all people achieve their reasonable social and economic aspirations. We now know that world peace is impossible so long as vast numbers of the earth's people are hungry, sick, ignorant and oppressed. Neither governments in the Western world nor private business nor voluntary agencies have begun to do enough for the social and economic and political development of the entire world, with special emphasis upon the so-called underdeveloped areas and depressed peoples. We are, however, justified in being hopeful because more and more people in the Western world recognize that they must assist all peoples in the world, with all the resources they can muster, in their endeavors to achieve political independence, improved living conditions, and basic human rights.

Hope spun out of illusion is obviously fatuous. But valid hope "maketh not ashamed." Valid hope lifts us above despair and releases energies which may yet help us to heal the sickness of our time.

### *Humility*

The Christian has an inescapable duty in this sixth decade of the 20th century to be humble and to help his fellow citizens in this "God-blessed" land to find true humility.

We may begin by making a greater effort to understand and appreciate other cultures and other peoples. We should be willing to learn as well as to teach. Even while we have, for the most part, repudiated 19th century political imperialism, even while we are in process of turning away from economic im-

perialism, we have yet to learn that cultural imperialism is no less resented by those on whom it is imposed. Only a true interchange of ideas and of other cultural values can increase human understanding throughout the world. This is an elemental requirement for cooperation in the United Nations, for realistic and effective negotiation, for achievement of any constructive foreign policy goals.

We can assert our democratic faith with utmost firmness, without hypocrisy, without pretending (as someone has put it) to virtues we do not have. We can help underdeveloped areas to a more abundant life without demanding "gratitude" in return, since we should recognize how inescapably our own self-interest is involved in all these efforts. We can be brotherly without displaying the obnoxious qualities of a typical "big brother."

While the foundations of our world are being shaken, it is the Christian's unique task to build new bases of true realism, of patience combined with a sense of urgency, of hope, and of humility. So may we attain a reborn confidence that, under God, we can achieve the world conditions in which human decency, international order, and peace with justice shall increasingly prevail.

## VI. Conclusion

Too often we think about the United Nations as if it had some existence quite apart from ourselves or from our nation. But the UN is made up of member states, and member states are composed of individuals. When we ask in a certain situation, "Why doesn't the UN do something?" we are treating the international organization as being what, when we pause to think, we know it is not—a world government. Actually, "we, the peoples" are the United Nations.

The UN is an instrument which we can choose to use or not to use, a tool we can blunt the edge of or can sharpen for more effective work. In making foreign policy, we can either by-pass

it or let it be a channel for increased cooperation among the nations.

Many of us would agree with that devoted international servant, Ralph J. Bunche, when he says: "In my view, national self-interest and collective interest become broadly identical in the United Nations. As an American, devoted and loyal to my country and proud of my country, I endorse the United Nations if only because the international objectives it pursues serve well, very well indeed, the interests of my country and of all my fellow countrymen."

If Dr. Bunche is correct, our most impelling responsibility, our chief obligation, is to strengthen the United Nations. Only then can it do its primary work: to keep the peace.

We can strengthen the UN to the extent that we accept the five disciplines of peace outlined above, and submit to them. In essence this assignment is moral and religious. The churches are directly answerable, accordingly, for winning a wide acceptance of these disciplines.

—A. WILLIAM LOOS

## Pointing Up the Issues

We are confident that the foregoing ample and penetrating analysis of some major foreign policy problems from the viewpoint of Christian ethics will stimulate thinking and discussion. To this end we venture to call attention to certain issues that are likely to arise, perhaps in very provocative fashion, and to suggest some "angles" that ought not to be missed.

Let us look first at the concept of a "collective will," repeatedly referred to as an emergent value in the activities of the United Nations. The most obvious objection is that what is devastatingly evident in the UN is the lack of a common will and, indeed, a deliberate effort on the part of the Soviet bloc to



prevent anything like a collective intention from taking form. Dr. Loos takes due note of this unwelcome tendency in his reference to the progressive concentration of power in two hostile camps. But does this "brute" fact invalidate the argument that the United Nations is, in spite of internal strife, promoting the growth of a common will?

The crucial question would seem to be whether or not progress is being made when governments that in most respects are hostile nevertheless find concerted action possible in certain areas, however limited. Is not the mere continuance of the process of inconclusive consultation, discussion, and debate a kind of agreement—agreement to *keep on disagreeing* in council chamber and corridor rather than resort to force? Since this means accepting less than what a nation might hope to win by force is it not in itself a "discipline of peace"?

Secondly, many readers will pause over the reference to want and oppression as breeders of communism, to point out that much, if not most, of the mischief done by communism emanates from intellectuals and artists who cannot be classed among the exploited. In fact, it has been contended that the workers are slower than intellectuals to "fall" for communist propaganda. This does not invalidate Dr. Loos' generalization about poverty and exploitation as conducive to the spread of communism, but it does remind us that we need to know more about the appeal of this revolutionary movement.

Thirdly, Dr. Loos refers to the "largely untrue" charges of American imperialism. Many people will reject the confession implicit in "largely." The important point is that if a nation acquires a reputation for being imperialistic the effect is the same, whatever the merits of the case. A Christian businessman once remarked, when in an introspective mood, "If my employees don't know I'm a Christian, I'm not one." Surely seeing ourselves as others see us is an aspect of the disciplines of peace.

Fourthly, and this is a touchy subject—what can one say to the person who honestly believes that a government which



deviates from the American pattern of economic enterprise is headed for inevitable ruin and ought to be saved from itself by the withholding of "aid," or even "trade"? Large numbers of church people deliberately and conscientiously withhold support from highly sponsored Christian enterprises because they regard them as a betrayal of Christianity. How do people become open-minded on this matter of "pluralism" as opposed to conformity? This is a question of grievous import in a time when tolerance is at low tide.

Finally, the question of national sovereignty arises to trouble us whenever any hint of internationalism is scented. Obviously, there is no use in trying to "sell" the United Nations to people who are isolationists at heart. But for those who are sympathetic with the main drive of Dr. Loos' presentation, yet perturbed over the idea of "surrendering sovereignty"—what approach is indicated in the face of such honest perplexity? Perhaps redefinition of terms is needed. What *is* sovereignty except the right to determine a nation's course of action? If the course chosen involves a commitment to work in concert with other nations for common ends has sovereignty been "surrendered," or "limited," or has it rather been prudently exercised? Cannot the whole matter of treaty making be examined and re-examined as a matter of statecraft without any implication of the "loss" of sovereignty? It is just possible that our long domestic wrangle over states' rights has persisted because practical, political aims and prejudices could be obscured by abstractions about sovereignty.

All of which is respectfully submitted to our *sovereign* readers.

—F. E. J.